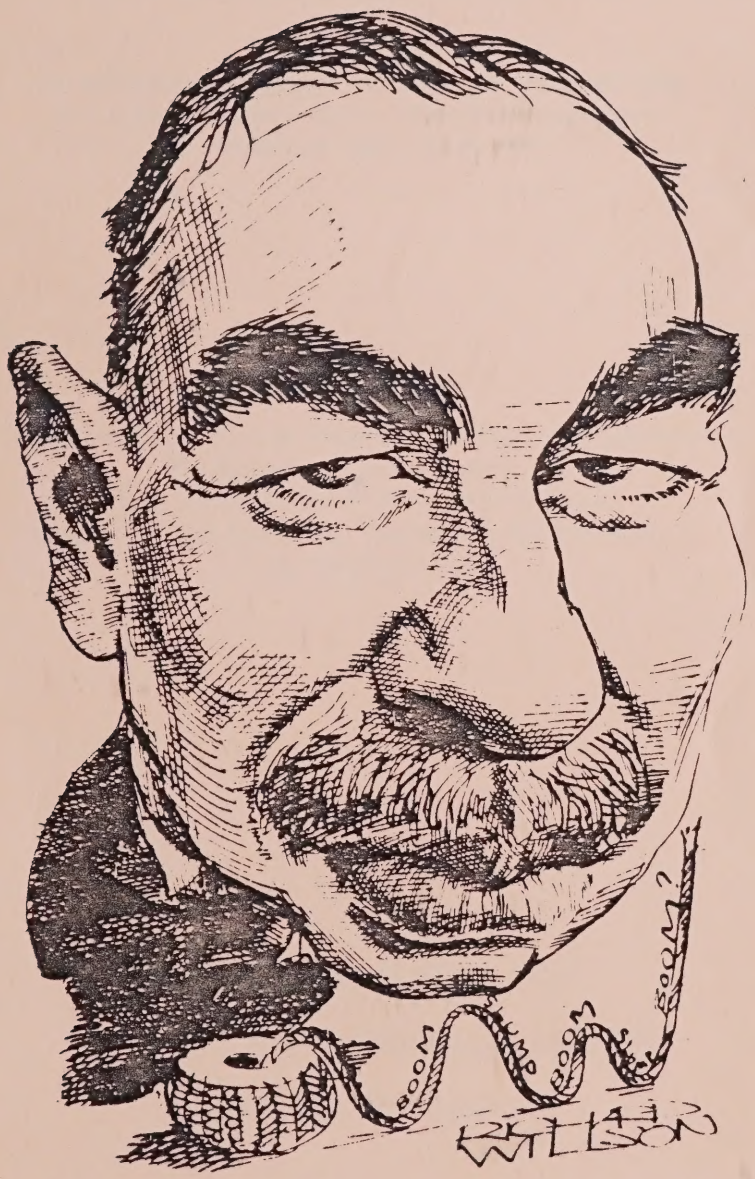
JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

1883 - 1946



A CENTENARY EXHIBITION

NOVEMBER - DECEMBER, 1983 THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, 1883-1946

An exhibition of books, pamphlets, manuscripts
and ephemera primarily from the collection
of Professor John G. Slater

On the occasion of the Keynes Centenary Symposium:
Problems of Contemporary
Macroeconomic Theory and Policy,
Scarborough Campus, University of Toronto,
3-4 November, 1983.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1983

THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library is pleased to participate in this centenary celebration of the birth of John Maynard Keynes with an exhibition of his works. Most of the items displayed are from the collection of Professor John Slater and the occasion is made especially pleasurable because Professor John Slater has generously agreed to donate his Keynes collection to the Library at the conclusion of the exhibition. Many of our most distinguished special collections are the result of the bibliophilic zeal and enlightened philanthropy of private collectors and it is difficult to over-estimate the importance for scholarly research of their activities. The Slater collection of Keynes will add a whole new dimension to our already strong holdings in the history of economics. It will also significantly supplement the extensive collection of modern British literature because of Keynes's intimate relationships with many of the prominent literary figures of his day. We warmly welcome this exhibition, the members of the Keynes Centenary symposium and a new collection.

Richard Landon
Head
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

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JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, 1883-1946

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

John Maynard Keynes was born at 6 Harvey Road in Cambridge on 5 June 1883. His father, John Neville, was a philosopher-economist and university administrator noted for his Studies and Exercises in Formal Logic (1884, 4th ed. 1906) and The Scope and Method of Political Economy (1890, 2nd ed. 1897). His mother, Florence Ada, daughter of John Brown, a famous Congregationalist divine and biographer of John Bunyan, had been an early member of Newnham College, Cambridge and was active in social services and local affairs, later becoming Cambridge's first woman town councillor and eventually its mayor.

Keynes's childhood as the eldest of three children was to all appearances happy and conventional. His education was also conventional: a governess, a local kindergarden and preparatory school and a satisfactory, but not distinguished, scholarship to Eton. At Eton he blossomed intellectually and socially, winning about all the academic prizes to be had and securing election to Pop, before he won an open scholarship to King's College, Cambridge, in classics and mathematics.

When Keynes arrived in King's in October 1902 his university subject was mathematics. Yet his undergraduate career was remarkable for how little academic work he did: his supervisor once described Keynes to his father as "honestly giving his 'spare time' to Mathematics". He was attracted to philosophy and attended the lectures of J.McT.E. McTaggart, G.E. Moore and A.N. Whitehead, at the last being the only student in the class. He had already started collecting books: he recorded 330 purchases between 11 November 1901 and 14 December 1902. He joined the newly formed Baskerville Club and was active in College literary and debating societies. Keynes was also an active Liberal and became president of the University Liberal Club in the Michaelmas Term of 1904. As a member of the Cambridge Union, he spoke as early as November 1902 and made such an impression that the Union president, Edwin Montagu, himself a Liberal, later an M.P. and Cabinet Minister, put him down to speak again on the paper for 18 November. Keynes later became president of the Union in the Lent Term of 1904.

Perhaps the most important event of his undergraduate career came towards the end of his first term in Cambridge, when he was "inspected" by Lytton Strachey and Leonard Woolf for possible membership in the Apostles, a small, secret discussion society of dons, graduates and undergraduates which had been founded as the Cambridge Conversazione Society in 1820 and shaped in its forms by F.D. Maurice during its first decade. At the time of Keynes's "inspection", the Society's active older members included Lowes Dickinson, G.H. Hardy, Desmond MacCarthy, Bertrand Russell and C.P. Sanger. Amongst the younger were Strachey, Woolf, E.M. Forster, Ralph Hawtrey, H.O. Meredith and Saxon Sydney-Turner. The paramount older influence on the Society when Keynes was elected in February 1903 was G.E. Moore, whose Principia Ethica was to appear in the autumn of 1903.

The Society of Keynes's time provided not only the nucleus of what was to become that group of friends called Bloomsbury. It also played an important part in forming Keynes's early beliefs and kindled in him a serious interest in philosophy. For it was in discussions within the Society of Moore's ideas that Keynes, as early as 1904, began to formulate the ideas that eventually appeared in his Treatise on Probability seventeen years later.

Despite his extracurricular activities, Keynes did enough work, particularly in his last two terms, to graduate in 1905 with a respectable first class degree: he was twelfth Wrangler. He was, however, not good enough or interested enough in the subject to pursue it professionally, so the question of a career loomed. The advice he received varied: some suggested another year at another subject such as moral sciences or economics; others suggested the bar and a career in politics. Keynes decided instead to prepare for the Civil Service examinations which would be held in August 1906 and to attempt to win a prize fellowship at King's with a dissertation in philosophy on the theory of probability before he became ineligible with the election of 1909.

His preparations for the Civil Service examinations saw him undertake his first serious study of economics. He wrote weekly essays for Alfred Marshall, who strongly encouraged him to become a professional economist, regularly consulted A.C. Pigou and read widely in the literature. In the course of his reading he came across W. Stanley Jevons's Investigations in Currency and Finance (1883) and became "convinced that he was one of the minds of the century". His examination preparations also saw him reading in philosophy, political science and history. It was all hard work, broken by an Easter motor tour of Tuscany with Mary Berenson and her daughters and a stay at "I Tatti", the Berenson home near Florence. When the examination results were posted, he found he had come second with his worst marks in mathematics and economics.

Coming second meant that when the 1906 list of Civil Service vacancies appeared he would get second choice. O.E. Niemeyer, who had come first, took the sole Treasury job available, so Keynes went to the India Office. He was to spend less than two years there, but he found the leisurely ways of the Office, especially during his initial posting in the Military Department, ideal for getting on with his fellowship dissertation. A subsequent appointment to the Revenue, Statistics and Commerce Department was occasionally more taxing and much more interesting. Nevertheless, the dissertation progressed and was ready for submission in December 1907. The College appointed W.E. Johnson, whom Keynes had known since childhood, and Alfred Whitehead as assessors for the electors.

The dissertation was not successful: a mathematician and a classicist were elected instead. This result reflected partly the fact that Keynes had one more chance to submit, when the electors thought he would be successful, and partly Whitehead's report which, although generally favourable, missed, in Keynes's view, the most significant innovations in the dissertation. But he was almost assured of success the next year -- and he was successful, becoming a Fellow of King's in March 1909.

In the interval, he resigned his Civil Service post. As Professor of Political Economy, Alfred Marshall had been in the habit of contributing £200

from his own pocket to pay for two lecturers for the recently established Cambridge Economics Tripos. Although he was about to retire and withdraw from lecturing and affairs concerning the Tripos, Marshall approached Keynes in April 1908 inquiring whether he would take one of the £100 lectureships. Keynes was interested. When the offer was renewed in June 1908 after A.C. Pigou, Marshall's successor as Professor, agreed to continue the scheme, Keynes accepted and resigned from the India Office.

Between 1908 and the outbreak of war in 1914, Keynes led the usual life of a young don. He lectured, more frequently than his Cambridge successors, on economic principles and monetary subjects, supervised students in King's and other Colleges and got on with publishing. Not only was he re-working his fellowship dissertation for eventual publication as a Treatise on Probability, part of which appeared in The Statistical Journal of the Royal Statistical Society for February 1911, but articles and reviews on economic and statistical subjects began to appear in The Economic Journal from September 1908 and The Statistical Journal from December 1910. In December 1910 he was appointed to Cambridge University's only established lectureship in economics, that was financed by the Girdlers' Company, and in October 1911 he was appointed editor of The Economic Journal, the journal of the Royal Economic Society, a post his father had refused 20 years before. Yet, although he was becoming something of a figure in Cambridge economics and perhaps even beyond, he did not appear on a wider stage until 1913. Then just as he was finishing his first book, Indian Currency and Finance (1913), he was offered the secretaryship, and once the existence of the book became known, full membership of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance under the chairmanship of Austen Chamberlain. He accepted and played an important role in shaping its report.

Yet his return to Cambridge in 1908 did not see Keynes break his ties with London. After he left the India Office he retained a pied à terre in London, which he shared with Duncan Grant with whom he was having an affair, living first in Belgrave Road, then in Fitzroy Square and then as Virginia Stephen's tenant at 38 Brunswick Square. In London, he continued to indulge the passion for the theatre he had acquired as a child; began, under the influence of Duncan Grant, Vanessa Bell and Roger Fry, to take some interest in the visual arts; and, with the rest of Bloomsbury, was bowled over by Diaghilev's Russian ballet during its second 1911 season at Covent Garden. Like others in Bloomsbury, as well, he was coming to enjoy country life, spending the summers of 1909 and 1910 at Burford in Oxfordshire and 1912 at Everleigh in Wiltshire. There was also extensive foreign travel: Egypt, Greece, Turkey, France, Tunisia, Italy, Sicily and Austria-Hungary were all visited in the years before the war.

The outbreak of war in August 1914 was surrounded by a financial crisis. Through Basil Blackett of the Treasury, whom Keynes had come to know when he replaced him as Secretary of the Chamberlain Royal Commission, Keynes was called to London. He rushed down in the side-car of his brother-in-law's motorcycle. Keynes's subsequent advice played an important part in determining the shape of Britain's financial policy in the ensuing days, but his official service proved short-lived. The experience and knowledge he gained proved useful, informing three journal articles that appeared in September, November and December 1914.

In January 1915 the Treasury asked Keynes to come back on a full-time basis, initially as an assistant to Sir George Paish, Lloyd George's economic adviser, but soon afterwards as a member of the Division concerned with financial policy. He soon became primarily concerned with Britain's external financial relations and became more and more influential. Early in 1917 he received his own empire, the newly created A Division, responsible for overseas finance. It was in this position that he first visited the United States in 1917, that he was able to arrange that the provision of foreign exchange to the French on one occasion take the form of a grant to the National Gallery to bid for paintings at the sale of Degas' private collection in March 1918 (Keynes also purchased for himself an Ingres drawing, two Delacroix and Cezanne's "Apples"), and that he went to the Peace Conference in Paris in January 1919 as the senior Treasury official with power, if necessary, to speak for the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Keynes's wartime Treasury service had other effects. Although he had been a Liberal since his undergraduate days and had campaigned for Liberal candidates in the elections of 1906 and January and December 1910, he had not moved extensively in higher Liberal circles. From 1915, initially with introductions by Edwin Montagu, he began to do so, becoming a regular weekend guest at the Asquith's and the McKenna's and their circle. This caused some strain after Lloyd George succeeded Asquith in 1916, but in the Treasury Keynes got on well with McKenna's successor as Chancellor, Andrew Bonar Law. The war also strained other relationships. Much of Bloomsbury and many of Keynes's Cambridge friends were conscientious objectors to the compulsory military service introduced in 1916. Keynes, who had worked hard against the legislation within Whitehall, amongst his Liberal contacts and anonymously in the press also claimed a conscientious objection to conscription. As he put it, "I am not prepared on such an issue as this to surrender my right of decision, as to what is or is not my duty, to any other person, and I should think it morally wrong to do so." He considered resigning his Treasury post and unsuccessfully applied, although his post made it unnecessary, for exemption from military service on conscientious grounds. Yet in the end he stayed, playing an important role in the war effort. Despite his often successful efforts to gain exemptions for his friends, some of them found his official position difficult to justify and told him so in no uncertain terms. Some of his friends believed that the pressures of this wartime situation played an important role when, in Paris in May 1919, he became convinced of the immorality and stupidity of the Peace Treaty, resigned his Treasury post and wrote The Economic Consequences of the Peace which appeared in December 1919.

1919 and Economic Consequences marked a distinct break in Keynes's career. Before he had been an academic and successful Civil Servant. Now he was an international figure, for the book was an international best seller. Although he returned to Cambridge and began a successful career as a bursar of King's, he did not return to the normal academic routines: he resigned his University lectureship and became a supernumerary Fellow of King's, supervising only a few undergraduates and giving only eight lectures a year on a fee-for-service basis. To finance this independence, he turned to journalism and a career in the City as an insurance company chairman and company director. He also attempted, with an initially spectacular lack of success (which recurred at the end of the 1920's before the stock market crash), to secure his financial position through speculation in currencies and

commodities and investments on the stock exchange. His new career saw him spend only long weekends in Cambridge during term: King's moved their meetings to suit his schedule. The rest of the time he worked from 46 Gordon Square, the London house he had acquired from Clive and Vanessa Bell in 1916, or during vacations, from a place in the country, initially Charleston near Firle in Sussex which Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant had taken in 1916 and later Tilton, the farmhouse next door, which he took from 1925.

Keynes's journalism was initially directed entirely against the Peace Treaties, but he soon took on the role of a more general commentator on economic affairs and policy. He published widely, placing his articles throughout the world through an agent, but he soon developed close relations with a few publications -- The Manchester Guardian, The New Republic, The Nation and Athenaeum and its successor, The New Statesman and Nation. Of course, there were always letters to the editor of The Times but it was not until 1933, when he had ceased writing for a living, that he regularly placed his major articles there. His campaigns in the 1920's also saw him again involved in the affairs of the Liberal Party. He was active in the Liberal Summer School movement and chairman of the group that took control of The Nation and Athenaeum, both attempts to move Liberal policy away from the attitudes of the past and to make the party the main non-socialist alternative to Labour. This same cause also saw him involved with Lloyd George, despite the problems of the past, as a member of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry which published Britain's Industrial Future (1928) and a member of the committee that led to the centrepiece of Lloyd George's 1929 election campaign being a pledge to reduce unemployment to normal proportions within a year -- a pledge he supported with Hubert Henderson, the editor of The Nation and Athenaeum, in Can Lloyd George Do It?

Although Keynes had resigned from the Treasury in 1919 to spectacularly attack government policy in Economic Consequences of the Peace and although he remained a regular critic of government policy, most notably over reparations, Britain's settlement of the war debts with the United States and the attempt, culminating in April 1925 under Winston Churchill, to return Britain to the gold standard at the pre-war parity -- the move which led him to produce The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill -- he was never completely persona non grata in official and government circles. He was offered the vice-chairmanship of the Indian Fiscal Commission in 1921 and membership of the Committee on Industry and Trade in 1924, both of which he declined, was regularly consulted over monetary policy, war debts and reparations, and after The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill, was asked to join Churchill's exclusive Other Club. Yet, in the late 1920's his official contacts waned, only to revive after the 1929 change in Government with his appointment to the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry (1929-31) and the Economic Advisory Council (1930-9).

The 1920's brought one other major change in Keynes's life. In 1921 Lydia Lopokova returned to London to dance with Diaghilev's company. Keynes, who had met her in 1918, saw her again and was almost immediately swept off his feet. He arranged for her to move into a neighbouring house in Gordon Square, put her financial affairs in order and paid court to her. They became inseparable, exchanging letters every day they were apart from April 1922 until the end of Keynes's life. Old Bloomsbury, particularly Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant, was unhappy over this development. Virginia Woolf

predicted disaster. Keynes persevered. It was not until 1925 that Lydia succeeded in obtaining a divorce from her first husband. She and Keynes married soon after, on 4 August 1925, and went off to Russia to meet her relations.

Lydia's arrival in Keynes's life affected his involvement in the arts. Although he continued to support his painter friends with purchases and commissions and, in collaboration with Samuel Courtauld, Hindly Smith and L.H. Myers, by setting up the London Artists Association to guarantee them a steady income, his interests turned back towards the stage. It was Lydia's revival of his life-long interest in the theatre, plus the ballet, which in the late 1920's saw him mount the occasional production in Cambridge and take it to London for a brief season. In the 1930's this interest broadened into, first, the Camargo Society, which kept large-scale ballet alive in England between the deaths of Diaghilev and Pavlova and the successful establishment of the Vic-Wells ballet, and, second, the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, which Keynes built, nursed to success and then gave to the University and the town in 1938. It was not surprising that in 1936, when looking for someone to open a series of articles on 'Art and the State', The Listener turned to Keynes. During the Second World War, despite poor health and other calls on his time, Keynes became a Trustee of the National Gallery and chairman of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, which evolved under his guidance into the Arts Council of Great Britain. As prospective chairman of the Arts Council and chairman of the Trustees of Covent Garden he was able to bring the Vic-Wells Ballet and the Royal Opera into an arrangement that has flourished since the war.

In the mid-1920's, although still a publicist and persuader, Keynes, although relatively old for such pursuits, turned his attention to formal monetary theory. This was a fruitful time for such an endeavour. Keynes's pre-war pupil, D.H. Robertson, was working on his Banking Policy and the Price Level (1926) which would bring the distinction between decisions to save and decisions to invest into English economics. Professor Pigou was writing his Industrial Fluctuations (1927) and, in the later years of the decade, an able younger generation of Cambridge economists, including Piero Sraffa (with whom Keynes would also collaborate on an edition of Hume's Abstract of a Treatise of Human Nature, 1938), Richard Kahn and Joan Robinson, plus visitors from Oxford, such as Roy Harrod and James Meade, would become interested in the area. Thus Keynes had no shortage of commentators and critics as he worked on his Treatise on Money (1930) and, when the basic theory of that book was proved inadequate, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (1936), the most important book published in economics so far this century. The General Theory dramatically changed the way in which economists thought about the workings of the economy, providing the basic concepts of modern macroeconomics, and within a decade, its ideas had come to inform the formulation of economic policy throughout the English-speaking world.

In May 1937, after several months of feeling unwell, Keynes suffered a serious heart attack. He was forced to cut back his activities, although he resigned from only one -- the chairmanship of an insurance company. Under the watchful care of Lydia, he slowly but incompletely recovered. By the outbreak of war in September 1939, he was sufficiently recovered to suggest that he could return to a fuller routine of teaching and administration than he had borne for years so as to release others for the war effort. However, he

soon became involved himself in perhaps the most successful of all his campaigns of persuasion. His concern was to find a non-inflationary, yet socially just, way of financing the shift in resources from private to public uses that went with total war. The campaign began quietly with a lecture in Cambridge in October. In November there were two articles in The Times called 'Paying for the War', then further articles, interviews and discussions as the proposals were revised and refined before they appeared as How to Pay for the War in February 1940.

By the spring of 1940 Keynes had experienced some modest success in changing opinion. But then events took over. The German campaign in the west brought down the Chamberlain Government and made Churchill premier. In June 1940, Sir Kingsley Wood, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, invited Keynes to join his newly formed Consultative Council. Keynes expected little from the Council, correctly as it turned out, but it brought him a room inside the Treasury where he installed his own secretary and got to work. The result, if not the detailed proposals of How to Pay for the War, was a new realism in financial policy and a revolution in the way the Treasury thought about budgetary policy. From 1941 onwards budget judgements were cast in terms of the state of the economy as a whole, not merely the Chancellor's own cash position, a far cry from previous practice but one which has proved remarkably long-lasting and influential.

Although Keynes continued to make contributions to Treasury discussions of domestic financial policy after the April 1941 Budget, he increasingly turned to his World War I field -- external finance. He became intimately involved in negotiations for lend lease and mutual aid and it was in the international area that he worked hardest to shape the post-war world. His "Proposals for an International Clearing Union" was the British plan for the negotiations, where Keynes was the chief British negotiator, for the post-war international monetary system which resulted in the Bretton Woods institutions of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Keynes also provided a scheme for stabilising international commodity prices which in the end came to nothing, and he kept a watching brief on the creation of the other post-war economic institutions. In the course of these various wartime negotiations and the formulation of the post-war Anglo-American financial settlement Keynes made six visits to the United States, three of which also took him to Ottawa, and spent over a year abroad. The strain of these negotiations and his other wartime activities took their toll and his heart finally gave out completely on Easter Monday, 21 April 1946.

D. E. Moggridge
October 1983

CATALOGUE

CASE I. CAMBRIDGE AND EARLY WORK

Two Memoirs. Dr. Melchior: A Defeated Enemy and My Early Beliefs. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949.

In his will Keynes directed that these two papers he read to the Bloomsbury Memoir Club be published. 'My Early Beliefs', which deals with Cambridge before 1914, was first read at a meeting of the Club at Tilton on 9 September 1938.

Photograph. Keynes in 1902 aged 19. From Milo Keynes (ed.). Essays on John Maynard Keynes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Photograph. Cambridge Union Committee, Lent 1905. From Percy Craddock. Recollections of the Cambridge Union 1815-1939. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1953.

Keynes was President of the Union that term. Along with Keynes, E.S. Montagu is in this group photograph.

Transcript of a letter from Keynes to Lydia Lopokova. 16 November 1924.

When Edwin Montagu died in November 1924, Keynes recalled to Lydia that he owed "nearly all" his "steps up in life to him" including the Royal Commission on Indian Currency, his call to the Treasury in January 1914, his first involvement in inter-Allied finance and his introductions to "the great ones". See also Keynes's obituary reprinted in Essays in Biography.

Photograph. Keynes about 1908, from a drawing by Duncan Grant. From The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes. London: Macmillan, 1971- (Hereafter Collected Writings), vol. XV.

Postcard reproducing a watercolour of Keynes in 1908 by Gwen Raverat.

The original is in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Gwen Raverat was the elder daughter of George Darwin. Her sister, Margaret, married Keynes's brother Geoffrey in 1917.

A Treatise on Probability. London: Macmillan, 1921.

The Treatise originated as Keynes's fellowship dissertation for King's in 1906-9. After his election he revised it extensively. Despite the

interruptions of Indian Currency and Finance and the Royal Commission on Indian Currency, Keynes had most of it in page proof by the summer of 1914 before the demands of war intervened. He returned to it in 1920. When he finished it in 1921, he wrote in a draft preface:

> I shall write no more philosophy, having reached a time of life when the brain relents and easier subjects recommend themselves.

Russell, Bertrand. The Problems of Philosophy. London: Williams and Norgate, 1912.

While writing his Treatise on Probability, Keynes had frequent discussions with Russell. Here Russell acknowledges Keynes's influence.

Photograph. Bertrand Russell, Keynes and Lytton Strachey at Garsington, circa 1917. From Two Memoirs.

Ramsey, Frank Plumpton. The Foundations of Mathematics. London: Kegan Paul, 1931.

Frank Ramsey reviewed Keynes's Treatise while he was an undergraduate. This later essay, published after his death in 1930 at age 26, is a more extended critique and an important foundation of the subjective approach to probability. For Keynes's view of Ramsey see Essays in Biography.

CASE II. WAR AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

'War and the Financial System, August 1914'. Reprinted from The Economic Journal, XXIV, September 1914.

Keynes's account of the 1914 financial crisis as it affected London was written with inside knowledge, immediately after the event.

'The Prospects of Money, November 1914'. Reprinted from The Economic Journal, XXIV, December 1914.

A discussion of the wider implications of the financial measures taken in the early months of the war.

'The City of London and the Bank of England, August 1914'. Reprinted from The Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXIX, November 1914.

Another account of the financial crisis that paid particular attention to the relationships between the Bank of England and the City firms.

Galleys for The Economic Consequences of the Peace. London: Macmillan, 1919.

Keynes began writing Economic Consequences in June 1919, but he completed the bulk of it, including the portraits of Wilson and Clemenceau, at Charleston during August and September. On 25 September, after the manuscript had gone to the printer, President Wilson collapsed at Pueblo, Colorado, while campaigning for the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations. On 2 October, he suffered an incapacitating stroke. As a result, the section on the President in chapter 3 is the most heavily revised section of the book. In the course of the revisions "a well-meaning and conscientious politician, under-equipped intellectually" became "a generously-intentioned man, with many of the weaknesses of other human beings and lacking that dominating intellectual equipment which would have been necessary to cope...". Also, "But his legs -- a great surprise were short..." became "But, like Odysseus, the President looked wiser when he was seated...".

The Economic Consequences of the Peace. London: Macmillan, 1919.

This copy is open at page 36-7 to show the final version of the passage in the galleys.

Photograph. Keynes circa 1920. From Collected Writings, vol. XVI.

The Economic Consequences of the Peace. London: Macmillan, 1920.

A cheap edition of 10,000 sponsored by the Labour Party for sale to members of Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies.

Two Memoirs. Dr. Melchior: A Defeated Enemy and My Early Beliefs. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949.

Keynes's other posthumously published memoir was of Dr. Carl Melchior, a member of the Hamburg banking firm of M.M. Warburg. He had been a member of the German financial delegation which Keynes met at Trèves immediately after his arrival in Paris as the Treasury's chief representative at the Peace Conference. The subject of the meeting was food supplies for Germany. To break the deadlocked negotiations the two men met privately. They did so again a month later.

Keynes first read this memoir on 2 February, 1921, not 1931 as David Garrett's introduction suggests (see The Diary of Virginia Woolf, vol. II. Ed. Anne Olivier Bell assisted by Andrew McNeillie. London: The

Hogarth Press, 1978, pp. 89-90). When asking Keynes for a copy of the paper Virginia Woolf wrote to Keynes, "I can't say how much I envy your describing characters the way you do." (The Question of Things Happening, The Letters of Virginia Woolf, vol. II. Ed. Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautman. London: Hogarth Press, 1976, No. 1166).

After the Peace Conference, Keynes was in frequent contact with Melchior on several occasions. He read his section on Clemenceau and Wilson to Melchior in October 1919 and at Melchior's request removed the reference to the President's legs quoted above. Melchior assisted Keynes with German contributions to the latter's series of 'Reconstruction in Europe' supplements for The Manchester Guardian Commercial and served as an unoffical channel of communication with the German Chancellor in 1922-3. Keynes stayed with him in Hamburg on several occasions.

Photograph. Keynes, Melchior's sister, Lydia Keynes, Carl Melchior. From Collected Writings, vol. X.

Fight the Famine. February 1920. London: Fight the Famine Council, 1920. Broadside.

Real Justice to France. London: Fight the Famine Council for Economic Reconstruction, 1921. Broadside.

'Speech delivered by Mr. J.M. Keynes on 13 October 1921 at the International Conference on Economic Recovery and World Peace, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster.'

The Fight the Famine Council, of which Keynes was a strong supporter, regularly distributed reports of Keynes's speeches and articles during 1920-2.

A Revision of the Treaty being a Sequel to 'The Economic Consequences of the Peace'. London: Macmillan, 1922; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922.

Photograph. Keynes at the Genoa Conference, April 1922.

At Genoa Keynes was a correspondent for The Manchester Guardian and a syndicate of European and American newspapers.

Essays in Liberalism, being the Lectures and Papers which were Delivered at the Liberal Summer School at Oxford, 1922. London: W. Collins, 1922.

Open at Keynes's paper 'Reparations and the Inter-Allied Debt'.

Mantoux, Etienne. The Carthaginian Peace, or The Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes. London: Oxford University Press, 1946.

This was perhaps the most powerful attack on Keynes's views of the Peace Treaties and reparations written during his lifetime. Both Keynes and Mantoux were dead by the time it was published.

CASE III. CURRENCY REFORMER

Indian Currency and Finance. London: Macmillan, 1913.

Keynes's first book won him a seat on the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance where he greatly influenced the report. This book provides one of the first English expositions of the working of the gold exchange standard.

A Tract on Monetary Reform. London: Macmillan, 1923.

This was an expansion of articles Keynes had published in the 'Reconstruction in Europe' supplements to The Manchester Guardian Commercial.

'Foreign Investment and the National Advantage'. From The Nation and Athenaeum, 9 August 1924.

Keynes had given this speech to the Liberal Summer School at Oxford on 2 August. In it he had questioned the advantage to Britain of overseas lending and suggested some reforms that would reduce it.

The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill. London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1925.

This was Keynes's attack on Winston Churchill's announcement as Chancellor of the Exchequer that Britain would return to the gold standard at the pre-war parity. It first appeared between 23 and 25 July in The Evening Standard after The Times had refused to print the articles. The expanded articles in pamphlet form were published a week later. The tight schedule, plus the print order of 10,000, caused some strain at the Hogarth Press.

Liberal Industrial Inquiry. Britain's Industrial Future; being the Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry. London: E. Benn, 1928.

The Inquiry, spelt with an I to avoid the acronym LIE being associated with the project, was a result of an initiative by the Liberal Summer School and was financed by Lloyd George. Keynes wrote Book II, 'The

Organisation of Business', and Book V, chapters XXVIII and XXIX, 'Currency and Banking' and 'Reform of the National Accounts'. He collaborated with Sir William Beveridge, Hubert Henderson and Ramsay Muir on three other chapters and the conclusion.

Photograph. Sir Herbert Samuel, Walter Layton, David Lloyd George, Hubert Henderson and Keynes at a meeting of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry. From Collected Writings, vol. XIX.

'How to Organise a Wave of Prosperity'. From The Evening Standard, 31 July 1928.

This was the first shot in a campaign Keynes would run until the end of the summer of 1931 for a programme of increased public expenditure to reduce Britain's high level of unemployment.

We Can Conquer Unemployment: Mr. Lloyd George's Pledge. London: Cavell, 1929.

At a meeting of Liberal MP's on 1 March 1929, Lloyd George had pledged that if elected at the next election the Party would be ready with public works schemes which would reduce unemployment to normal proportions in a year while not adding a penny to local or national taxation. Keynes was a member of the Committee that produced in this pamphlet the proposals to make the pledge effective.

Can Lloyd George Do It? An Examination of the Liberal Pledge. By J.M. Keynes and H.D. Henderson. London: The Nation and Athenaeum.

This pamphlet appeared on 10 May 1929 at the height of the election campaign.

The International Gold Problem: Collected Papers. A Record of a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1929-1931. Oxford: University Press, 1932.

Cartoon by David Low. The Lifeboat that Stayed Ashore.

"Safety First" was the Conservative election slogan in 1929. This is one of the first of many Low cartoons depicting Keynes. The characterisations of Keynes improved after 1933 when Low spent time drawing Keynes in his rooms in King's during an undergraduate supervision.

CASE IV. BIOGRAPHER

Essays in Biography. London: Macmillan, 1933; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933.

In the course of the 1920's and early 1930's Keynes, in addition to his sketches of the politicians at the Peace Conference, wrote a number of biographical sketches, often as obituaries. In 1932 he collected some of these together and added a sketch of Lloyd George he had excised from Economic Consequences of the Peace and a portrait of T.R. Malthus, parts of which he had written as early as 1914 for a speech to the Political Philosophy and Science Club. The copy is open at a portrait of Alfred Marshall.

'Alfred Marshall 1842-1924; a Memoir'. Reprinted from The Economic Journal, XXXIV, September 1924.

This is the original version of the sketch in Essays in Biography. Joseph Schumpeter once called it "the most brilliant life of a man of science I have ever read". ('John Maynard Keynes 1883-1946', American Economic Review, XXXVI, September 1946)

Letter from Virginia Woolf to Keynes, 17 May 1937.

"your biographies... have been giving me immense pleasure..."

Xerox of the original, published in Leave the Letters Till We're Dead. The Letters of Virginia Woolf, vol. VI. Ed. Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautman. London: Hogarth Press, 1980, p. 129.

'William Stanley Jevons 1835-1882. A Centenary Allocution on his Life and Work as Economist and Statistician'. Reprinted from The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, XLIX (3), 1936.

Bell, Julian. Essays, Poems and Letters. Edited by Quentin Bell with contributions by J.M. Keynes et al. London: The Hogarth Press, 1938.

Julian Bell, the elder son of Clive and Vanessa Bell, was killed driving an ambulance on the government side of the Brunete front on 18 July 1937. Keynes's contribution was his obituary notice written for the King's College Annual Reports, 13 November 1937.

'Mary Paley Marshall, 1850-1944' in Essays in Biography. New ed. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1951.

After Keynes's death, his brother Geoffrey brought out a new edition of the Essays. In it he included Keynes's original corrected text and additional essays -- the Jevons Centenary Allocution, his obituary of

Mary Marshall and an essay 'Newton: the Man', first read on 30 November 1942 in Newton's house off Leicester Square to mark the tercentenary of his birth.

'G.B.S. and Isaac Newton' in G.B.S. 90: Aspects of Bernard Shaw's Life and Work. Edited by S. Winston. London: Hutchison, 1946.

Keynes submitted this for publication eleven days before he died. He had written it the previous Sunday.

Keynes's interest in Newton came from his activities as a book collector. He bought his first copy of the first edition of Principia Mathematica in 1904. He eventually owned four. He bought a large portion of Newton's non-mathematical papers at the sale of Viscount Lymington's Newton Papers at Sotheby's on 13 July 1936.

Photograph. George Bernard Shaw and Keynes leaving the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge on the occasion of the opening of two new galleries on 9 June 1936. From Collected Writings, vol. XXVIII.

Essays and Sketches in Biography. New York: Meridian Books, 1956.

CASE V. PERSUASION

A Short View of Russia. London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1925.

Keynes first visited Russia in September 1925 to meet Lydia's relatives and act as Cambridge University's representative at the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Science in Leningrad. On his return he wrote three articles for The Nation and Athenaeum (10, 17 & 24 October, 1925). The Hogarth Press reprinted them with a preface in December.

Das Ende des Laissez-Faire. Munchen: Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1926.

The End of Laissez-Faire. London: Virginia and Leonard Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1926.

Keynes delivered lectures under this title in Oxford in November 1924 and in Berlin in June 1926.

Laissez-Faire and Communism. New York: New Republic, 1926.

The American edition of the previous two pamphlets. Keynes's writings appeared in The New Republic from 1919 onwards. That magazine had

serialised parts of Economic Consequences of the Peace in December 1919 and January 1920 with the portrait of the President appearing in the Christmas issue. As well, Felix Frankfurter and Walter Lippmann, both associated with the magazine, had come to know Keynes in Paris, sympathised with his views and arranged for the book's U.S. publication by Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

Réflexions sur le franc et sur quelques autres sujets. Paris: Simon Kra [1928]

This collection of Keynes's writings on the French franc, war debts, reparations, British taxation and the British balance of payments, plus sketches of Asquith, Churchill, Trotsky and H.G. Wells was never published elsewhere. Three of the essays later appeared in Essays in Persuasion and three in Essays in Biography.

Photograph. Keynes in 1929. From Collected Writings, vol. XX.

'Proposals for a Revenue Tariff'. Galley proofs for an article in The New Statesman and Nation, 7 March 1931.

Prior to the publication of this article Keynes sent similar proofs to Prime Minister Macdonald and Chancellor of the Exchequer Phillip Snowden. Keynes had previously been known as a Liberal free trader, although in private his views had been changing for almost a year. The article caused a storm.

Essays in Persuasion. London: Macmillan, 1931; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932.

Britain left the gold standard on 21 September 1931 after a financial crisis that had lasted two months. As if to mark the end of the old order -- war debt and reparation payments had been suspended in July -- on 3 October Keynes suggested to Macmillan that they bring together a selection of his writings since 1919 in a volume entitled 'Essays in Prophecy'. Macmillan agreed two days later. Keynes submitted copy for the whole book, then called 'Essays in Prophecy and Persuasion', on 16 October, but finally settled on the title on 22 October. The book appeared in England on 27 November, opening with the words "Here are collected the croakings of twelve years -- the croakings of a Cassandra".

Essais sur la monnaie et l'économie: les cris de Cassandre. Paris: Petit Bibliotheque Peyot, 1971.

Although Essays in Persuasion was never translated into French, this 1971 collection contains all the essays from that volume except the three that appeared in the 1928 Kra volume above.

'National Self-Sufficiency'. Offprint from Studies, June 1933.

Keynes gave this as the first Finlay Lecture at University College, Dublin, on 19 April 1933. It later appeared in The Yale Review for June 1933 and The New Statesman and Nation for 8 and 15 July 1933, just after the collapse of the World Economic Conference. His call for increased national self-sufficiency to allow greater freedom for sensible economic experiments reflected the trend in his thinking.

Cartoon by David Low. Keynes in his rooms in King's. Published in The New Statesman and Nation, 28 October 1933.

Stalin -- Wells Talk: The Verbatim Record and a Discussion by G. Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, J.M. Keynes, Ernst Toller and others. London: The New Statesman, 1933.

On 28 October 1933 The New Statesman published the text of an interview H.G. Wells had with Stalin. Subsequently there were a number of letters and comments, including two from Keynes on 10 and 24 November. At the end of November, Kingsley Martin, the editor, decided to put the original interview with the ensuing letters and comments, plus sketches by Low of Wells, Shaw and Keynes, together as a pamphlet with an appropriate cover cartoon by Low. Keynes and Wells agreed readily, but Shaw held back. The result was an exchange of letters between Keynes and Shaw about Marx and Marxism which concluded with a letter from Keynes on 1 January 1935 about his forthcoming General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money.

Letter from Keynes to George Bernard Shaw, 1 January 1935. From Collected Writings, vol. XXVIII, p. 42.

CASE VI. THE YEARS OF HIGH THEORY

Robertson, D.H. Banking Policy and the Price Level: An Essay in the Theory of the Trade Cycle. London: P.S. King, 1926.

Robertson, D.H. Money. With an introduction by J.M. Keynes. Revised edition. London: Nisbet, 1928.

Keynes's collaboration with D.H. Robertson in the 1920's was extremely close and fruitful. Keynes had chosen Robertson, his pre-war pupil who did not have a reputation as a monetary theorist, to write the first Cambridge Economic Handbook, Money, which appeared in 1922. These two later books clearly show Robertson's indebtedness to Keynes as the latter was preparing his Treatise on Money. The copy of Banking Policy and the Price Level was D.H. Robertson's.

Photograph. Piero Sraffa, Keynes and Dennis Robertson at Tilton in 1927. From Collected Writings, vol. XXIX.

A Treatise on Money. London: Macmillan, 1930; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930.

Unemployment as a World Problem. Lectures on the Harris Foundation, 1931. Edited by Quincy Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

This is a popular summary of the ideas of the Treatise on Money given as three lectures in Chicago in June 1931. By the end of the year, Keynes had decided to try and reformulate his ideas.

Bryce, R.B. An Introduction to a Monetary Theory of Employment. Mimeograph [1935]

By the spring of 1935, Keynes's reformulation of his ideas had reached the stage of galley proofs and his younger colleagues had already started explaining the new ideas to others. R.B. Bryce, a Canadian graduate student in Cambridge had attended Keynes's annual lectures, in which he tried out his new ideas, during the previous three years. He wrote this paper "to give an example of the type of monetary theory held by Research Students in Cambridge" for four sessions of Professor Friedrich von Hayek's graduate seminars at the London School of Economics in the spring term of 1935. Keynes thought the paper "excellently done" and was "astonished that... [Bryce had] been able to give so complete a story within so short a space". (Collected Writings, vol. XXIX, p. 150)

Photograph. Keynes with Bertil Ohlin in Brussels, July 1935.

Ohlin and his colleagues were developing ideas similar to Keynes's in Sweden at the time.

The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money. London: Macmillan, 1936; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936; Toronto: Macmillan, 1936.

With this book, as with most of his others, Keynes had all the sheets printed in the U.K. and then sent them abroad for binding for particular markets. When Keynes reprinted the book for the English market in March 1936 he made several corrections. These corrections were never made in subsequent reprints of the American edition which have always used the text of the original printing.

Théorie Générale de l'Emploi, de l'Intérêt et de la Monnaie. Paris: Payot, 1942.

The translation of the General Theory into French was interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1939. Much to everyone's surprise at the time, the German occupation did not prevent its appearing in 1942.

CASE VII. PERSUASION TO STATESMANSHIP

The World's Economic Crisis and the Way of Europe. Halley Stewart Lecture 1931. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1932.

Keynes gave one of the lectures in this series on 4 February 1932. It was a re-working of a speech he had given in Hamburg in January and also appeared in The Atlantic Monthly for May 1932.

'This is a Budget of Excessive Prudence'. Clipping from The Evening Standard, 20 April 1932.

Neville Chamberlain brought down his 1932 Budget of 19 April 1932. It maintained the expenditure cuts and tax increases imposed during the financial crisis of the previous summer. Keynes suggested that its contents would "command an unenthusiastic acquiescence".

'The Kaffir Boom. Will History Repeat Itself?' Typescript. 1933.

In December 1932 South Africa abandoned the gold standard and joined the group of countries which pegged their currencies to sterling. The consequent devaluation of the South African pound meant a sharp rise in the local currency receipts and profits of the gold mining companies. This led to a boom in South African gold shares, or Kaffirs, on the London market. When The Daily Mail asked Keynes for his views on the significance of the boom, he cast his mind back to the last time a Kaffir boom had signalled the end of a slump, 1895. The article appeared on 7 February 1933.

The Means to Prosperity. London: Macmillan, 1933.

This pamphlet reproduced four articles Keynes had published in The Times between 13 and 16 March 1933. They called for an international programme of reflation through public works expenditures and published a plan developed by Hubert Henderson and Keynes for a supporting expansion of international liquidity by an international central bank for consideration by the World Economic Conference which was to begin meeting in London in June.

The Means to Prosperity. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933.

The American edition is similar to the British, but it also includes a further justification for the public works proposals which Keynes had published as 'The Multiplier' in The New Statesman and Nation on 1 April 1933.

Photograph. Keynes and J.C. Smuts during the World Economic Conference, 1933. From Collected Writings, vol. XXI.

'The Experiments of President Roosevelt'. Typescript. 1933.

On 31 December 1933, on the advice of Felix Frankfurter, Keynes published an open letter to President Roosevelt in The New York Times, providing him with advice on economic policy. He also prepared a shorter version of the open letter for publication in The Times of London and elsewhere. This is that shortened version. It appeared in The Times on 2 January 1934 under the title 'Mr. Roosevelt's Experiments'.

'Borrowing by the State'. Two clippings from The Times, 24 and 25 July 1939.

Between 1937 and the outbreak of war Keynes produced a number of articles for The Times on the financial and economic implications of rearmament. These two articles, the last to be published before the outbreak of war, had their origins in a memorandum Keynes had sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Governor of the Bank of England attempting to set out more clearly the rationale for the borrowing policy he had recommended in an earlier set of articles.

'Paying for the War'. Mimeograph of two articles from The Times, 14 and 15 November 1939.

This mimeograph was prepared "for distribution to students in Political Science and Commerce and Finance" at the University of Toronto.

How to Pay for the War. A Radical Plan for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. London: Macmillan, 1940; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1940.

This is the revised and expanded version of the proposals first made in 'Paying for the War'. It appeared in England at the end of February 1940. The original English printing in a green cover contained a large number of misprints; so the revised orange-covered version is definitive. The American version published by Harcourt, Brace follows the corrected English version.

The copy of the first English printing was presented by Keynes to James Watt (1863-1945), an Edinburgh lawyer. Lent by Peter Weinrich.

Burns, Emile. Mr. Keynes Answered: An Examination of the Keynes Plan. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1940.

The Keynes Plan -- Its Dangers to the Workers. London: Labour Research Department.

Two reactions from the left to the proposals of How to Pay for the War.

Proposals for an International Clearing Union (Not Utopia, but Eutopia). Mimeograph. 4 August 1942.

This is an internal Treasury version of the fifth draft of Keynes's proposal for a post-war international monetary system. At this stage Keynes was re-drafting the plan, which had been extensively discussed in Whitehall, for transmission to the Americans and subsequent discussion.

Photograph. Keynes speaking at the Bretton Woods Conference, July 1944.

Henry Morgenthau, the American Secretary of the Treasury, is on Keynes's left. The result of the Conference was the founding of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

'The Balance of Payments of the United States'. Reprinted from The Economic Journal, LVI, June 1946.

This was Keynes's last professional article. It originated during the Anglo-American Loan negotiations as an attempt by Keynes to convince the British Government that the dollar would not be scarce during the next few years. After the conclusion of the agreement, Keynes worked it up into a full dress article, finishing it at the end of January 1946. He made some further revisions after discussing it with Harry White and other Americans during his visit to Savannah in February and March 1946. He refused to publish it until the Loan Agreement passed Congress; so it appeared posthumously.

CASE VIII. MAN OF ARTS AND LETTERS

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Eng. Maynard Keynes, Collector of Pictures, Books and Manuscripts. By David Scrase and Peter Croft. Cambridge: King's College, 1983.

The catalogue of an exhibition held at the Fitzwilliam Museum 5 July - 29 August 1983 to mark the centenary of Keynes's birth. The exhibition consisted of 96 pictures, about two-thirds of Keynes's collection and a selection of 183 items from his book and manuscript collection.

'London Group'. 1921. Broadside.

The London Group of Artists was formed in 1913 by several small groups of artists who were unhappy with the state of painting in Britain at the time. Originally Keynes's Bloomsbury friends, Vanessa Bell, Roger Fry and Duncan Grant were excluded from the group but they all were admitted by 1920. This broadside came from the catalogue of the Group's exhibition at the Mansard Gallery, London, in October 1921.

Photographs of the painted panels from J.M. Keynes's rooms in King's College, Cambridge.

Between 1919 and 1921 Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell executed eight panels for Keynes's rooms. These replaced a previous mural by Duncan Grant. The decoration scheme also included curtains at each end by Vanessa Bell.

Example of Keynes's bookplate on Profits, by William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925.

The pencil comment is in Keynes's hand.

Example of Keynes's stationery from Tilton.

Photograph entitled 'A Quiet Wedding' showing J.M. Keynes and Lydia Lopokova confronting the crowd after their wedding at the St. Pancras Central Registry Office on 4 August 1925. In Florence Ada Keynes. Gathering up the Threads. Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1950.

'On Reading Books'. Passage on book collecting from a radio talk given on the BBC on 1 June 1936. In Collected Writings, vol. XXVIII, pp. 334-5.

'Professor Foxwell as a Book Collector' in The Kress Library of Business and Economics founded upon the collection of books made by Herbert Somerton Foxwell. Boston: 1939.

This is a reprint of part of Keynes's obituary notice of Foxwell published in The Economic Journal for December 1936. Foxwell, a Cambridge economist, was introduced to book collecting by W. Stanley Jevons in 1875 and accumulated no fewer than four collections, exceeding 20,000 volumes during his lifetime. The most important of these are in the Goldsmiths' Library in London and the Kress Library.

'Art and the State' in Britain and the Beast. London: J.M. Dent, 1937.

This was originally commissioned as the first of a series of articles under that theme for The Listener. It first appeared on 26 August 1936.

Hume, David. An Abstract of a Treatise of Human Nature, 1740. Introduced by J.M. Keynes and P. Sraffa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938.

Keynes received a copy of this work from his brother Geoffrey in 1933. It was then thought to be unique and customary opinion held it to have been written by Adam Smith. In collaboration with Piero Sraffa, another economist-book collector, Keynes established that the abstract was by Hume himself. They also discovered two other copies.

Photograph. Keynes in the library of his London house at 46 Gordon Square, 1940. From Collected Writings, vol. XXII.

READING ROOM CASES

Case 1 -- Obituaries, Memorials and the Official Biography.

Case 2 -- Early Commentaries -- 1930's to 1950's.

Cases 3 and 4 -- Commentaries and Reassessments -- 1960's to 1980's.

Text: D.E. Moggridge, Department of Economics.

Cover: Cartoon by Richard Willson. Design by T. Reid, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.

Exhibition: E. Evans, K. Martyn, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.